[22 cont.]
of the patient or of his family — then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman. As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol- [567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with 751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as 761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in 761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia, 825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be- 538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[71 cont.]

811 feeling. Not being able to understand the logical processes of life with its principal phenomena of birth, development, growth, old age, and death, the Indian looks for an explanation that agrees, at least in appearance, with his beliefs, with his limited capacity for knowledge, and he steadfastly adheres to the traditions received in cultural inheritance, traditions which all have a subjective flavor and in which the supernatural, the purely metaphysical — even within the physical phenomenon itself — dominates the intellectual and sensible panorama. If at first he
811 attributed the phenomenon of birth to the supernatural action,
844 far off in space, of an animal, a plant, or other object which in course of time became his totem in his mythical ancestor made divine, later his mental explorations try to find a new explanation; his totem for different causes having now lost its value and only remaining with him as a vague memory, he tries to find, let us say, a new explanation which agrees better with the reality surrounding him. Hence we find him affirming, like the Guajiro, that birth is due to the union of the masculine semen with the menstrual blood, which produces the fetus. The association, even if not exact, is not extraordinarily far from the truth in as much as the association of both these factors brings about an apparent conjunction of the same in order to accomplish the complicated processes of fertility and birth.

● 761 But, in the explanation of the phenomenon of death, it is
177 the realms of the unknown which continue to exert a major influence on the minds of primitives and, in the present case, on the minds of the Guajiro in particular. It is true that the constant influence of missionaries, colonists, traders and stock breeders, teachers and soldiers has started to change the state of things, inculcating in the Indian another class of beliefs which are not always coincident with reality, for the simple reason that three different races live together in our country, [72] and all are equally fanatical in their beliefs: the Negro with his fetishism and fantastic mythology; the Indian also with his mythology and his subjection to the spirits of the dead; and the Spaniard, as fanatic as the rest or as renegade. But it is also true that in the Indian's personality there still remains strongly impressed his primitive beliefs, his traditions accumulated over thousands of years, which

[72 cont.]

761 177 have been transformed step by step through the evolutionary process of thought as it fulfills its stupendous labor towards perfection.

761 775 Death is not a real death to the Guajiro. Accustomed as he is to interpret sleep as a separation, a liberation of the spirit, the universal soul, from the framework of the body (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine"), death to him is nothing more than a greater and definite liberation of the spirit to go from this world to another — to that of the spirits — unknown and phantomlike but as real to his imagination as his own existence. For this same reason and because of the fear infused in the primitive by these disembodied spirits — which have left their material body and are capable of taking on new and unknown forms, capable of transporting themselves to a distance, capable in fact of deeds unachievable by mortal man — the Indians believe it to be indispensable for their tranquillity to practice a series of ceremonies, rites, to maintain a fixed and constant attitude toward the dead, because these spirits by the physical fact of the separation of the soul from the body possess special potentialities which confer on them the power to harm the living whenever their person has been offended by the violation of any of the norms established in the ceremonial for the dead.

We also have to take into account the fact that for the primitive a dead person is not only absolutely a sacred being — and as such untouchable — but he is also considered a potential enemy. Freud recognizes this when he states: "We know already that the dead are powerful sovereigns; possibly it would surprise us to find out now that they are also considered enemies." (50)

50. Freud. Totem y Tabú [Totem & Taboo], II, 75.

This duality, which we have shown in the previous paragraph, corroborated by the quotation from Professor Freud, will be seen more fully as we progress in this study and consider the different categories of danger that are attributed to the spirits of the dead in accord with the circumstances of their death or the disrespect with which they were treated. [73]

[155 cont.]
182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

* * *

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influ-
[177] ence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy
[654] for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

751 [156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
771 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
881 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly
● [761] the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

764 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
775 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
771 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
626 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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761 would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever.
776 The Guajiro word for illness, *wanuru*, is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

775 The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety
762 measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

775 The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer every-
682 where and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appearing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with